

community of industrial countries will have to make sure that the threat of energy blackmail is ruled out in principle. In the global energy system, it is necessary to use reserve and back-up methods in order to ensure safety. Caspian oil reserves can play a major role here.

For the past decade, politicians and journalists have been debating about the problem of Caspian oil perhaps more heatedly than the industry professionals. It has almost been made into a stake in the new Great Game, the U.S.-Russian rivalry over the control of the region and its riches. This confrontation has become the legacy of the old "bloc" model of the world. Wayne Merry, a former U.S. State Department and Pentagon official, now a senior associate at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington, describes its sources: "... Washington concentrated its efforts on one great strategic project to assure US primacy in the region. ... The idea was to bypass existing pipelines in Russia, squeeze out Iran, bring energy supplies from the Caspian region to a transshipment point in a NATO country, and thereby assure the independent futures of the producing and transit countries."

Understandably, Moscow clearly saw the threat to its interests and resisted U.S. plans. However, both sides played their parts by force of habit, without their usual passion. The reason is that the interests of Russia and the West (not only the U.S.) in the region are actually not conflicting. Some regional leaders tried to artificially keep alive the conflict between them as they hoped to secure foreign support for their authoritarian regimes.

Now that many old patterns have been left behind in the 20th century for good, the common interests of the industrial and democratic countries allow them to work out joint approaches to ensure their energy independence. Owing to this, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan have a historic opportunity to become stable partners of both Russia and the West, and to be integrated into the world economy.

Naturally, this integration should entail bringing their political systems in line with the international democratic and market economy standards. "A glance at other post-colonial regions in Africa and Asia shows that the first generation of 'Big Man' leaders often does as much harm to their countries as did the departing imperial powers, creating a painful legacy for future generations to sort out," concludes Wayne Merry. "American long-term interests in Central Asia are best served by seeking to engage tomorrow's leaders and assuring that, when the region's energy reserves do become important to the outside world, these leaders will look to the United States as a friend and not as yet another external exploiter."

Setting aside the controversial definition of the Central Asian countries as post-colonial ones, one should admit that the time when the region's energy reserves do become important to the outside world is nearing. Though geological exploration of the Caspian shelf is far from being completed, and many experts are not inclined to share the fanciful expectations of "dozens of new Kuwaits", it is clear that the region's oil and gas reserves are extremely large. However, energy projects can't become global automatically, thanks only to rich oilfields. Stable export routes are required to deliver oil and gas to the global markets. Even all the reserves of the Caspian states put together won't make the Caspian project global. It is necessary to select and develop the routes to transport oil and gas to the global markets—to the consumers in Europe, U.S., and Asian countries.

The most politically and economically viable option is to transport the Caspian "big

oil" up to the north, into Russia and further on into Eastern and Western Europe, to the consumers and transshipment ports. Economically, this option seems much more attractive, since the construction is to take place on a plain, in populated areas with a developed infrastructure. Russia's European region has enough qualified manpower and electricity for oil pumping. Russian plants produce pipes and other equipment. Stability in Russia and the neighboring countries guarantees safety of the route and its uninterrupted operation.

If chosen, the Russian option would mean turning the energy flow from south to north. It will permit the in-depth integration of Russia and Central Asia into a united Europe and simultaneously charge Europe and Russia with a common political mission of ensuring energy independence for the industrial countries. It will allow oil-producing countries of the Caspian region to play a major role in the global energy market. Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and—in the long term, Turkmenistan, could, along with the North Sea oil producing countries, become a real alternative to OPEC and get significant political benefits.

The main advantage of the northern export route for Caspian oil consists in the availability of a branched pipeline network in Russia. It is much easier and cheaper to improve and develop the existing system than to construct a new one. I mean the pipelines owned by the Transneft company and the recently constructed CPC line from Western Kazakhstan to the Black Sea. The CPC alone cannot provide exporters with access to the global market. For natural reasons, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles have a limited carrying capacity. The Black Sea ecosystem is vulnerable, as this sea is warm and almost closed. Turkey has already announced its intention to limit the number of giant tankers passing through its straits. Instead of forcing Turkey to agree by means of political pressure, we should respect its fundamental interests and seek other solutions in addition to the CPC capacities.

The pipeline would enable Russia to solve several of its specific problems. For instance, to strengthen the special status of the Kaliningrad region as Russia's outpost in Western Europe. If the pipeline goes via the Kaliningrad region, the region could not only solve some of its economic problems, but also get additional security guarantees in case of NATO's expansion to the East. A place of its own in the EU economy would be the best guarantee for the region.

In any case, with any combination of routes, Russia would be the main player in a Caspian-European project. Moreover, Russia should initiate its realization. Technological and economic calculations will give optimal solutions. However, political will and vision are still primary considerations. History teaches us that it is they rather than mathematical and economic calculations that have brought into existence such giant projects as the Suez and Panama Canals that formed the global markets of those days.

PERSIAN GULF IN THE BARENTS SEA

Looking into the future and putting aside the required political decisions, I would like to stress that the Russian route could give an incredibly promising opportunity of opening up global markets for Eurasian oil and gas. This opportunity includes building an oil-carrier port in the Murmansk region on the Barents Sea. The non-freezing, deep-sea port would become the gateway to the global market for Caspian, Siberian and, prospectively, for Timanopetchersk oil as well, as the northern oil will require outlets to world markets. In the Murmansk region, some former military ports can reportedly be used

right now by tankers. From there, they can quickly and safely reach not only Western European ports, but also the U.S. and Canada's eastern coast.

If gas-liquefying installations are built there, it would be hard to imagine a more natural route for a pipeline which will transport gas from the Russian polar regions and the Arctic Ocean's shelf.

In addition to the oil pipeline, a parallel gas pipeline should be built to provide Kazakh and Turkmen gas access to global markets that will not compete with the existing Russian gas routes to Western Europe. Constructing gas and oil pipelines simultaneously will make it possible to significantly cut capital expenditures and make transportation for long distances economically viable. By the way, the length of this route can be compared to the gas export line running from Tyumen's north to Western Europe.

Today's situation on the gas market is such that the Central Asian countries will long sit on their riches waiting for investors hindered by the lack of access to global markets. I am speaking not only about the Turkmen gas. The share of gas in the Caspian hydrocarbon reserves can be much higher than those suggested by the most optimistic forecasts. On the one hand, Caspian gas should be available when the industrial world needs it badly. On the other hand, Caspian gas won't be a rival for Russian gas and a source of contention between Russia and its neighbors in Central Asia.

Where the two huge pipelines ran side by side, where a joint exploitation system exists, one will naturally expect to have a transcontinental highway and info-highway—a powerful communication line originating from Europe and going further to the south.

These prospects are both exciting and distant. However, they should be taken into account when addressing today's problems. No doubt, the global economy does have enough investment resources for such a large-scale project. The U.S. Congress has given \$40 billion for primary measures to safeguard national security. Much less investment is needed to ensure energy security of the industrial states. Especially as it is much more reasonable and profitable to invest in crisis prevention than in recovering from them.

A pipeline bridge between the Caspian region and Western Europe, Central Asia and the world's oceans will help solve the problem of the globalization of Eurasian energy resources. It could become a basis for an "arc of stability" in Europe. It not only shifts the so-called arc of tension running close to Russia from the Balkans via the Caucasus, Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan, but will also exclude the Caspian states—the critical link—from this chain. When involved in the global economy, these countries could turn into strongholds of stability in a part of Asia that today poses major threats to the world.

RECOGNIZING MAJOR VICTOR
BADAMI FOR HIS HEROISM AT
THE PENTAGON FOLLOWING THE
SEPTEMBER 11TH ATTACKS

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 16, 2001

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share with my fellow colleagues another story of heroism on September 11th and to honor Major Victor Badami, one of my appointees to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

As we are all too well aware, on September 11, Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda terrorist network perpetrated a barbaric assault on our Nation, attacking our military and economic symbols in New York and Virginia, taking the lives of thousands of innocent American lives in the World Trade Center and at the Pentagon.

We have all heard the stories of many who rose to that crisis, unselfishly placing their lives on the line to save others. I am proud to honor another hero, to thank, and to recognize, Major Victor Badami, United States Army. Major Badami's office was directly in the path of destruction at the Pentagon. Even though his office was on fire and filling with smoke, he made certain that his office was emptied. But his service did not end there. Major Badami assisted a civilian who was organizing an effort to move several barrels of flame retardant from the hanger to the other side of the walkway, for use by firemen. This area was within the blast area and chemical flames were burning nearby with intense heat. He was going the first to volunteer and fought through those horrific conditions until the end.

But his service was still not done. Major Badami then volunteered for stretcher duty to carry out the injured from the building and remained in the area until his detail was dismissed. As set forth in his soldier's medal, Major Badami's heroic acts are "a testament of his bravery and reflect great credit upon himself and the United States Army," and are indicative of the compassion and sense of duty so proudly displayed in the American spirit.

Mr. Speaker, U.S. educator, Paul Zweig, once wrote, "By hero, we tend to mean a heightened man who, more than other men, possesses qualities of courage, loyalty, resourcefulness, charisma, above all, selflessness. He is an example of right behavior; the sort of man who risks his life to protect his society's values, sacrificing his personal needs for those of the community."

In this spirit, I invite my colleagues to honor and thank Major Victor Badami for his courage, loyalty, and selflessness in a moment when, like never before, his nation needed a hero.

RINGGOLD HIGH SCHOOL

HON. FRANK MASCARA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 16, 2001

Mr. MASCARA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my gratitude to the students and faculty of Ringgold High School in Monongahela, Pennsylvania.

The families of the September 11th attack victims need to know that people all across this Nation are with them during their time of mourning. Hundreds of Ringgold students have signed a huge banner articulating their thoughts and prayers. I am forwarding to President Bush a wonderful open letter they sent to the families of the victims of September 11, 2001, that accompanied the banner. I would like to now submit that letter to the RECORD.

RINGGOLD SCHOOL DISTRICT,
RINGGOLD HIGH SCHOOL,
Monongahela, Pennsylvania.

To the Families of the Victims of September 11, 2001:

It is with heavy hearts that the students and staff of Ringgold High School, Monongahela PA, extend our condolences.

What can any of us say in these moments that seem to be beyond words? How can we speak to those who mourn? The truth is that we are Ringgold need not say much at all. Emily Dickinson once wrote "There is a hush in a home on the morning after death, a silence that would be violated by too many words".

We are with you in our silence with thoughts and prayers. We must all keep hope. Hope to keep living amid desperation, knowing that there is love, and trusting in tomorrow. We meet good people all of the time but in the rush of life we sometimes do not recognize them and look closely enough to realize how their goodness also offers us a sign of what we can yet become ourselves.

As Americans we will not stand-alone. Our combined strength will assure that freedom and justice will prevail.

Again we extend our deepest condolences to the Families of the Victims of September 11, 2001.

Sincerely,

GINA SASKO,
President, Student Government.

MATT WUJCIK,
President, Senior Class.

MIKE BASSI,
President, Junior Class.

MIKE WILSON,
President, Sophomore Class

LORI BARTLEY,
Student Activities Director.

SHIRLEY M. CULYBA,
Principal.

Thank you students and staff of Ringgold High. I speak for this Congress in saying that we appreciate your thoughts.

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL J. DOOLEY

HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 16, 2001

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of Michael J. Dooley, a life-long friend to myself and Philadelphia, upon his retirement.

Mr. Dooley will retire as a Carpenters Union Official where he served his Local 454 Pile-drivers Union and Metropolitan Regional Council of Carpenters in Philadelphia for thirty-three years. This man, born and raised in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received his schooling from distinguished Philadelphia establishments and used his education and experience to accomplish remarkable feats for fellow union workers.

Mike attended Saint Joseph's Preparatory School and graduated from Drexel University with a degree in Construction Management. He continued his education receiving a Master's Degree from Temple University in Vocational Education. Immediately after his studies, he began work in his Local Union as an Apprentice, climbing to Journeyman status, then

Apprentice Teacher, then finally elected Business Manager of the Piledrivers Union in 1979. He served in this esteemed position for twenty-two years.

During these past twenty-two years, Mike has been the Delegate representing his Union in Building Trade Councils. He has also been a Labor Trustee for the Carpenters Health and Welfare Fund and the Carpenters Joint Apprenticeship Committee.

This man, more importantly, negotiated the first ever Seven-Year Agreement for a Building Trades contract in the nation. Mr. Dooley sculpted his fellow union members into a focused, united, and vigorous body.

With all of his accomplishments, Mike still maintains the greatest modesty. There are show horses and work horses, and Mike has been the man to always pull more than his weight in work and accomplishes his tasks without asking for a thank you. The number of people he has assisted—myself included—quietly throughout the years may never be known, but is surely massive in number. Mike will head into retirement in the next month, accompanied by Lynn his wife of twenty-eight years.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to mention that Mike Dooley served his community and neighbors honestly and fully throughout his life. I salute him and thank him for his friendship.

THE NEXT PHASE OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM

HON. DOUG BEREUTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 16, 2001

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member wishes to commend to his colleagues the November 15, 2001, editorial from the Lincoln Journal-Star entitled "Importance of peacekeeping is now clearer." The editorial rightly endorses continued U.S. engagement in Afghanistan as the Taliban quickly retreats, encourages the construction of a multi-ethnic administrative structure in Afghanistan, and accurately recognizes the complexities of these endeavors.

IMPORTANCE OF PEACEKEEPING IS NOW CLEARER

The sudden urgency to set up a provisional government in Afghanistan shows the need for Americans to support the use of American forces in peacekeeping roles.

That support has been granted grudgingly in the past in places such as Bosnia and Kosovo, with plenty of detractors yapping that American lives should not be put at stake unless America's strategic interests faced imminent threat.

That argument is no longer convincing in the wake of Sept. 11. It's now apparent that Americans no longer can blithely assume that it doesn't matter what happens in poor, obscure, violence-wracked countries halfway around the globe. The world is now so interconnected by air travel, the Internet and satellite communication that isolation is no longer a realistic option.

There are limits, naturally, on how often the United States can take on a peacekeeping role and how large that role should be. But when it comes to Afghanistan, there really should be no argument. Keeping the peace in Afghanistan would be a formidable undertaking in any circumstances. Under